

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00  
ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /078 W  
-----128154 261909Z /47

O R 261728Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7355  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1069

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, WA, SF  
SUBJ: NAMIBIA: AMB MCHENRY'S MAY 24-25 MEETINGS WITH NAMIBIAN  
POLITICAL GROUPS AND PERSONALITIES

1. SUMMARY: AMB MCHENRY, ACCOMPANIED BY CAPE TOWN  
POLCONS TAYLOR AND NACH OF AF/S MET MAY 24-25  
IN WINDHOEK WITH A CROSS-SECTION OF NAMIBIAN POLITICAL  
GROUPS AND PERSONALITIES TO DISCUSS CURRENT SITUATION  
AND STATUS OF THE WESTERN FIVE'S SETTLEMENT EFFORT.  
NNF AND CHURCH LEADERS STRONGLY OPPOSED ANY SAG  
UNILATERAL ACTION PREJUDICIAL TO THE WESTERN AGREEMENT.  
DTA LEADER DIRK MUDGE DID NOT SEEM TO BE PUSHING  
FOR A NEAR-TERM DEFINITIVE RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE.  
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BLACK DTA LEDERS, HOWEVER, APPEARED MORE IMPATIENT. END SUMMARY

2. AKTUR: DU PLESSIS, VAN ZIJL, AND THREE AKTUR  
COLLEAGUES ECHOED SOUTH AFRICAN VIEWS. THEY SAID THEY  
ACCEPTED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AS "FINAL AND DEFINITIVE,"  
AND ASSERTED THAT THEY COULD NOT REMAIN "HANGING ON FOR  
AN INDEFINITE PERIOD." IN THEIR VIEW, IT IS UP TO THE

FIVE TO MAKE THE NEXT MOVE. DU PLESSIS AND VAN ZIJL TOO A HARD LINE ON THE SAG'S RAID ON SWAPO BASES IN ANGOLA, CLAIMING THAT A "LARGE MAJORITY" IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA VIEWED THE ACTIONS AS "OVERDUE." THEY JUSTIFIED THE MASSIVE SCALE OF THE ATTACK ON GROUNDS OF SWAPO "ATROCITIES" AND POSSIBILITY THAT SAG HAD INFO OF AN IMPENDING SWAPO ASSAULT.

3. ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN NEED FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO REFRAIN FROM FURTHER UNHELPFUL ACTIONS AND PARTICIPATE IN THE REBUILDING OF CONFIDENCE ESSENTIAL TO GAINING SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL MADE NO IMPRESSION ON AKTUR. DU PLESSIS SAID THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES COULD NEVER LIVE UNDER A SWAPO GOVT, NO MATTER HOW IT CAME TO POWER. ALTHOUGH THEY NEVER EXPLICITLY SAID SO, THE AKTUR REPS APPEAR CONTENT TO SEE THE FIVE'S INITIATIVE FAIL. AFTERWARDS, THEY WOULD HOPE SOMEHOW TO DISPOSE OF THEIR ARCH-RIVAL MUDGE AND RETURN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BACK TO ITS ORIGINAL PRINCIPLES AND DYNAMICS INCLUDING FIRM WHITE CONTROL OF THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESS AND OF A SUBSEQUENT "MAJORITY RULE" GOVT.

4. DEMOCRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE (DTA): KEY DTA MEMBERS PRESENT INCLUDED MARAIS, AFRICA, KLOPPERS, KARUAIHE, AND TIBINYANE. WE MET CHAIRMAN DIRK MUDGE SEPARATELY. AFTER AMB MCHENRY BRIEFED THE DTA REPS  
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ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE FIVE'S EFFORT AND THE NEED TO REBUILD CONFIDENCE IN THE WAKE OF THE CASSINGA RAID, MARAIS AND SEVERAL OF THE OTHERS REAFFIRMED SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL. THE MOST FORCEFUL STATEMENT CAME FROM DR. AFRICA WHO SAID THAT WHILE THERE WERE RISKS FOR BOTH SIDES, THESE COULD BE WORKED OUT IF NECESSARY TRUST EXISTED. IF NOT, HE PREDICTED A "RHODESIA-LIKE SITUATION OF WARFARE" MIGHT DEVELOP.

5. SEVERAL OF THE DTA MEMBERS ASSERTED THAT SWAPO, AN ORGANIZATION "ADVISED BY THE RUSSIANS," DID NOT WANT A SETTLEMENT AND WOULD NEVER AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN FREE ELECTIONS BECAUSE IT KNEW IT COULD NOT WIN. MARAIS SUGGESTED THAT HAD THERE BEEN NO SOUTH AFRICAN RAID INTO ANGOLA, THE WEST WOULD HAVE BY NOW FOUND OUT WHERE SWAPO REALLY STOOD.

6. SEVERAL OF THE DTA REPS SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA WAS BECOMING "DESPERATE." THE DTA, THEY SAID, WAS IN A DIFFICULT POSITION FOLLOWING KAPUWO'S ASSASSINATION, DESCRIBED BY MARAIS AS AN "IRREPARABLE LOSS," AND DTA MEMBERS

WERE DEMANDING THAT THEY TAKE ACTION ON THEIR OWN IF THERE WERE NO SETTLEMENT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT HE COULD NOT PREDICT, IN THE POST-CASSINGA ATMOSPHERE, WHEN A SETTLEMENT MIGHT BE REACHED BUT THAT IT WAS "ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY" FOR THE DTA AND OTHER GROUPS TO PROMOTE A CLIMATE OF TRUST. THE AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO REAL ALTERNATIVE TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, SAVE BLOODSHED AND VIOLENCE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1069

7. IN A LATER CONVERSATION, MUDGE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO REBUILD CONFIDENCE FOLLOWING CASSINGA AND THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF SWAPO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTIONS. BUT AS A POLITICAL LEADER, HE SAID, HE COULD NOT WAIT INDEFINITELY WHILE THE ECONOMIC SITUATION DETERIORATED AND UNCERTAINTY CONTINUED. MUDGE SAID THAT HE HAD SINGLEHANDEDLY BROUGHT AROUND THE OTHER DTA LEADERS TO ACCEPTING THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL. ON WALVIS BAY, MUDGE AND OTHER DTA LEADERS SAID THAT THE TERRITORY SHOULD BECOME PART OF INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE WILLING TO SETTLE THE ISSUE AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

8. NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT (NNF): BRYAN O'LINN, GERSON  
VEII AND OTHER NNF LEADERS REAFFIRMED THEIR PARTY'S  
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SUPPORT FOR THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL AS THE ONLY PRACTICAL  
CHANCE FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN  
NAMIBIA. THE NNF HAS CONDEMNED THE CASSINGA RAID, AND  
THE MEMBERS WITH WHOM WE MET TOLD US THAT MOST WHITES  
AND DTA BLACKS ARE, AS A RESULT, DENOUNCING THEM FOR BEING  
"TRAITORS."

9. ONE OF THE NNF LEADERS WRYLY DESCRIBED OUR DISCUSSION  
AS "PREACHING TO THE CONVERTED." THE NNF APPEAR TO HAVE WELL-  
THOUGHT-OUT POSITIONS ON MAJOR ISSUES AND ALREADY HAS  
ITS OWN LIST OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES FOR THE SAG  
TO TAKE, INCLUDING THE RELEASE OF NAMIBIAN POLITICAL  
PRISONERS, ELIMINATION OF APPLICATION OF SECTION 6 OF THE  
TERRORISM ACT TO NAMIBIA, AND THE MAKING OF A STATEMENT  
THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL APPROACH THE WALVIS BAY QUESTION  
WITH AN "OPEN MIND."

10. DESPITE THE RELATIVELY IMPRESSIVE CALIBER OF ITS  
LEADERSHIP, THE NNF REMAINS SMALL AND POOR, ALTHOUGH IT  
IS APPARENTLY ATTEMPTING TO RAISE FUNDS FROM SOURCES IN  
GERMANY. NNF HAS ONLY ONE PAID EMPLOYEE, O'LINN SAID,  
(IN CONTRAST TO THE DTA'S ALLEGED 300) AND NO ACCESS TO  
THE MEDIA.

11. SWAPO: DE FACTO SWAPO INTERNAL LEADER DAN TJONGARERO  
IS KEEPING A LOW PROFILE AND IS CONCERNING HIMSELF MAINLY  
WITH HIS WORK AT THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-RELATED INSTITUTE FOR  
SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT. HE WAS VAGUE ON SWAPO MATTERS AND  
HAD LITTLE TO SAY. TJONGARERO CONFIRMED STORIES THAT  
THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL HAD SENT HIM A BASKET OF  
FRUIT--DELIVERED BY THE SECURITY POLICE--ON HIS RETURN.  
(TJONGARERO SENT IT BACK.) THE AG'S GESTURE HAS BEEN  
VARIOUSLY INTERPRETED AS A CLEVER MOVE TO TARNISH  
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TJONGARERO'S CREDIBILITY OR AS A SINCERE BUT CLUMSY EFFORT  
BY STEYN TO SHOW HIS APPROVAL FOR THOSE SWAPO MEMBERS WHO,  
HE BELIEVES, ADVOCATE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

12. FROM OUR TALKS WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHO WERE IN  
WINDHOEK (ANGLICAN VICAR GENERAL MORROW AND FATHER HUNKE

OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH), WE BELIEVE THAT THE CHURCHES WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE STRONG SUPPORT TO THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL. CHURCH LEADERS CONDEMNED THE CASSINGA RAID, SAID THEY UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO REBUILD CONFIDENCE, AND THAT THEY WOULD OPPOSE ANY UNILATERAL MOVE BY THE SAG. IN A LATER TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH AMB MCHENRY, BISHOP DE VRIES STRONGLY CRITICIZED RECENT MOVES OF THE AG WHICH HAD UNDERMINED STEYN'S IMAGE. CHURCH LEADERS RECENTLY WROTE AN OPEN LETTER TO THE AG PROTESTING HIS ACTIONS.

13. COMMENT: THE NNF AND CHURCH LEADERS ARE LIKELY TO OPPOSE ANY NEAR-TERM SAG STEP TO MOVE AHEAD WITH PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS. THUS SOUTH AFRICA WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY ANY SUCH MOVE AS REFLECTING THE CLEAR WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. WHILE DIRK MUDGE STRESSED THAT THERE COULD NOT BE AN INDEFINITE WAIT, HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE PUSHING FOR A DEFINITIVE RESOLUTION WITHIN A MATTER OF WEEKS. WHILE THERE WERE WIDE DIFFERENCES IN THE JUDGEMENT OF SAG INTENTIONS, THE GENERAL EXPECTATION IN WINDHOEK SEEMED TO BE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD MOVE CAUTIOUSLY IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. (RUMORS OF AN IMPENDING ANNOUNCEMENT OF REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IS ALREADY ABROAD IN WINDHOEK). NELSON

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## Message Attributes

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